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ABSTRACT

The analysis of the factors affecting job mobility and migration in a high income rural community is based on a model developed in this document which proved to be a generator of fruitful hypotheses. The study of the Brookston, Indiana, community revealed that job-mobile individuals tended to be younger, had lower incomes, and had lower social status. Migrant individuals tended to be younger, had lower incomes, had more education, and came more frequently from the middle social strata. Migration referred to the movement of a person from one community to another. Motivation underlying job mobility and migration centered on a desire for economic betterment or improved social status. A distinction between voluntary and involuntary mobility and migration, relative to giving up farming, indicated that the voluntary individuals moved to jobs closely associated with past experience while non-voluntary individuals moved to positions of a semiskilled and unskilled nature. Suggestions for further research and policy development conclude the report. A related document is RC 003 823. (DK)

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Job Mobility and Migration

in a high income rural community

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Summary and Conclusions

THIS STUDY analyzes factors affecting job mobility and migration in a high income rural community. Job mobility refers to a change in type of employment. Migration refers to movement from one community to another. Dual mobility involves a change both in type of employment and in community. Mobility may be either voluntary or involuntary, depending on the relative importance of those factors beyond the individual's control in bringing about the particular change in employment or community.

- A comparison of job-mobile and non-job-mobile individuals revealed that mobile persons were more likely to be younger, have lower incomes, and lower social status.

- The motivation to change jobs differed among mobile individuals. Lower income people were primarily motivated by a desire for economic betterment. Younger and lower status individuals were motivated largely by a desire to improve in social status.

- Migrant individuals tended to be younger, have lower incomes, have more education, and

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Foreword

An important characteristic of human mobility is its complexity. Research may focus on any one of a large number of its closely interrelated aspects. Mobility research by agricultural economists typically focuses on the movement of labor out of agriculture. Labor economists have placed heavy emphasis on job or occupational mobility. Sociologists have studied both social mobility and geographic mobility or migration.

Segmentation of research along such lines, while meaningful for many purposes, can provide only limited insight into the total mobility process. This study focuses on the total mobility process among the adult male population of a high income rural community in northwestern Indiana. It makes three contributions to the study of mobility: (a) It focuses on the total mobility phenomenon. (b) It presents a conceptual model of mobility embracing both sociological and economic variables and offers an empirical test of the model. (c) Its empirical results provide insight into the mobility process in a high-income rural community.

V. W. Ruttan, *Agricultural Economics*

J. K. McDermott, *Agricultural Economics*

J. M. Beshers, *Sociology*

come more frequently from middle social strata than did the non-migrant individuals.

• Dual mobility (job mobility and migration) tended to be high among the younger members of the sample and the college educated.

• There appeared to be a dominant motivation associated with each type of mobility. Job-mobile individuals were strongly motivated by desires for economic improvement. Migrants were primarily motivated by desires for social betterment. The job-mobile and migrant persons were motivated by desires for both economic and social improvement.

• Voluntarily mobile individuals typically moved into occupations which made use of the capital and managerial skills they had previously used in farming. Involuntarily mobile persons moved primarily into semiskilled and unskilled jobs.

• Voluntarily mobile individuals were younger, better educated, and had higher social status and managerial ability than the involuntarily mobile individuals.

• The characteristics associated with each type of mobility suggest that the largest proportion of involuntary job mobility occurred within the job-mobile population, while the largest proportion of voluntary job mobility occurred within the dually mobile population.

Introduction

Changes in the social and economic life of the American people have accelerated during the last generation. Most notable are the expansion of industrial production, technological advance, the decline in agricultural employment, urbanization, and secularization of value systems.

These changes have not come about spontaneously, they are the result of previous changes, and in turn are continuing to alter the social and economic structure of our nation. Migration, labor mobility, and social mobility typify some of the adjustments that occur as new structures replace the old ones.

In recent years the phenomenon of labor mobility has aroused increasing interest. This interest stems from desires both to understand why and how labor mobility occurs and to learn the nature and extent of it.

This study is an investigation of job mobility and migration in one farming community in central Indiana. It shows how new conceptualization and theory are useful in understanding and explaining both labor mobility and migration.

The Problem

There are at least three aspects of the problem of mobility to be considered: (a) the lack of a systematic body of knowledge about labor mobility, (b) the lack of knowledge about mobility in rural American society, and (c) the confusion arising from multi-discipline approaches to the study of mobility.

The lack of a systematic body of knowledge concerning mobility is perhaps the most serious problem confronting research efforts. An attempt to understand mobility necessitates a framework capable of explaining why migration occurs differentially among populations and certain geographic areas, why economic incentives are not completely effective in bringing about occupational mobility, and why upward social mobility occurs more rapidly in some social systems than others.

Information about the mobility of rural people is limited. Understanding of available information has been hampered by the lack of a general theory of mobility from agriculture. Johnson (1948) makes a plea for a general theory of mobility capable of explaining the variation in the extent to which migration has reduced the excess labor supply in agriculture. Parnes (1954, p. 37) notes that "agricultural workers have been neglected by most investigators of mobility," and that "little is known about the mobility of workers in small towns." Both Schultz (1950) and Ruttan (1959) have raised questions that call for the development of theory to explain poverty and underemployment of labor in agriculture.

Mobility in other areas has been investigated by sociologists, economists, and demographers. Each has developed his own terminology, frames of reference and special theories. Attempts to investigate mobility must employ the approaches of the several disciplines. Sociologists and demographers have generally studied migration (spatial mobility) and economists have investigated labor mobility (changes in jobs and occupations), but the relationship between labor mobility and migration has not been made clear. In addition, studies of social mobility (changes in social status) have not adequately considered job mobility and migration as aspects of social mobility.

Labor is a unique economic resource in that it must be employed in the same location as its owner. The owner of the labor resource moves with the resource. Thus research concerning labor mobility affords an opportunity to use concepts and theories from two related social sciences, economics and sociology.

Objectives of the Study

The major objectives of this study were to develop a general theory of mobility encompassing migration, job mobility and social mobility, and to test the adequacy of the theory against empirical data from a particular agricultural community.

Research Methodology

Tests of hypotheses generated from the conceptual framework presented in this study were based on an analysis of data collected in a high income rural community in Indiana. Job mobility, migration, dual mobility (job mobility and migration), and social mobility were analyzed. The accuracy of the tests depends upon the methodological techniques employed to translate the hypothesized variables into operational variables, and to collect the empirical data used in the tests.

In an attempt to hold constant such environmental variables as employment opportunities and population pressures, the sample was drawn from a single rural community. This afforded an opportunity to examine the relationships between community variables and migration without having to correct the data for differences which might have existed between communities. To permit examination of all three types of mobility, a community was chosen which was located near a substantial employment center. A small community was selected so that it would be possible to make a complete mobility inventory and an accurate study of the social status system.

The community of Brookston, Indiana, with a town population of approximately 1,200 in 1960 was selected for the study. Brookston is fifteen miles north of Lafayette, an urban center with a population of approximately 55,000 in 1960. The Brookston community included both the town of Brookston and the surrounding rural area. The estimated population of the total community was approximately 2,000.[1]

To further limit the number of variables, the decade from 1948 to 1958 was selected as the sample time period. A mobile individual was defined as one who had changed jobs and/or communities since 1948.

In addition, the population was defined to include only males between the ages of 31 and 65, who were heads of households, and who at the time of the study either lived in Brookston or had

[1] The boundaries of the community were determined by the author through field interviews with local residents. After general boundaries were located by asking merchants, mail carriers, and other long-time residents, persons who lived near these boundaries were interviewed and asked, "What community do you live in?" Through these interviews it was found that the school district, which coincides with township lines, tended to be an adequate measure of the community boundary.

migrated no farther than 50 miles from Brookston. The distance restriction was considered a serious limitation of the representativeness of the sample. However, extensive travel to interview "long distance" movers was not possible and the length of the interview precluded mailing it.

The theoretical framework utilized in this study required stratification of the Brookston population into the following groups:

		Community		
		No Change	Move In	Move Out
Job	No Change			
	Change			

The distribution of the population within these groups was determined by a mail questionnaire sent to all Brookston residents and as complete a list of former residents as was available in the change-of-address file at the Brookston Post Office.

On the basis of data obtained from the mail questionnaire and a personal call on local nonrespondents, a sample was drawn from each of the four cells representing present Brookston residents. The sampling ratios used insured at least 20% representation or ten observations per cell. Since the number of former Brookston residents in the sample did not satisfy these criteria, results based on those two cells are less reliable. A total of 132 persons were interviewed.

A formal questionnaire was administered to each member of the sample during the summer of 1958, following a period of extensive informal interviewing in the community. Selected informants were used to obtain information about the community social structure. A set of judges' ratings using 12 informants were obtained to determine the community status of each member of the sample.[2]

[2] The judges' rating system was a modified form used by Warner (1949a) in which pre-selected community residents were asked to identify the names of all 132 interviewees and rank them in the community status system that the judge perceived in the community. Each judge placed cards with interviewees' names on them into piles representing the "class" he believed each person belonged to. The judges varied in the number of classes they thought existed. Some had only two, others as many as five. Judges were selected on the basis of the author's knowledge about the community. To make sure that all interviewees were rated, judges were selected who had lived in the community most of their lives and who were more likely to have contact with a large proportion of the town's population. The 12 judges used represented persons with above average education and income, and generally above average social status.

Some Economic Characteristics of the Study Area

The community of Brookston is located on the southern edge of White County, in the heart of flat prairie farmland. The major agricultural enterprises in the Brookston farming community are cash grain and grain-livestock. East of Brookston there are some dairy enterprises. The average farm size in the Brookston community (Prairie Township) was 214 acres in 1954, well above the state average of 125 acres.

The county as a whole (White County) reflects above average wealth when compared with the entire state. Whereas 20% of the farms in White County had gross farm sales in 1950 of $10,000 and over, only 11% of all farms in the state had sales which were as large. The average value of land and buildings in White County was $44,180 in 1954; the state average was $25,292.

Compared with the other counties in the state White County ranked in the highest quintile with regard to median farm income in 1950. It also ranked in the top quintile with regard to the increase in farmers reporting 100 days or more off-farm work between 1940 and 1950.

A Conceptual Framework for the Study of Mobility

The Theoretical and Empirical Background

The behavior of members of society is motivated by socially learned and defined goals. One set of these goals identified in American society is the desire of persons either to maintain or to achieve some level of economic and social status. Johnson (1948, p. 154) hypothesized that

> although there are personal factors . . . probably the most significant motive underlying rural migration is the desire for improved economic conditions.

Sociological theory hypothesizes upward social mobility as an American goal (Warner, 1949; Bendix and Lipset, 1953) and there is evidence that these motives do exist in American society.

Motives of betterment or stability are not forces in themselves. An individual must have some perception of how these goals may be achieved before he can feel any pressure for movement or action to gratify the motives. The process of social learning (Newcomb, 1950; Dollard and Miller, 1941) translates internalized desires into social behavior. The individual comes to learn that by changing jobs, moving from one community to another, or by making no change at all, he is effective in achieving the level of economic or social status to which he aspires.

Social status has been shown empirically to be related to type of occupation and economic status (Warner, 1949, p. 294; Goldschmidt, 1947, p. 49; Bennett and Tumin, 1953, p. 472; Williams, 1951, p. 92). In rural areas particularly, social status and occupation have been found to be interrelated (Landis, 1948, p. 269; Raper, 1949, pp. 309-32; Smith, 1940, pp. 332-3; Kaufman, 1944; Useem, Tangent and Useem, 1942, pp. 331-32). When persons in social status systems perceive that these relationships between economic and social status exist, mobility in the form of job change or migration may become the means whereby they attempt to achieve higher status. West found in Plainville that

> . . . humiliation regarding their (lower class) social position at home is intense enough to provide a powerful drive toward success outside (migration). Furthermore, simply because they are "lower class" they are likely to set forth with some inkling of the fact that there are other kinds of urban prestige that "money will buy" . . . which can be striven for through "education." Most of Plainville college students come from lower-class families (1945, p. 136).

In a recent study of entrances into the broiler industry in a Maine community Ploch found that over half of the operators had come from blue-collar occupations. Of this he says,

> . . . farming has a higher prestige value than do blue-collar type occupations. It may be concluded that . . . broiler raising has served as both a means of entering farming and of raising one's social status (1958, p. 4).

Thus motives of social betterment may function to prompt job mobility.

In American society it is possible for an individual to enhance, maintain or lose his social and economic status through mobility. The individual, if he is able to see the possibility of a change in status, may seek betterment or maintenance of his status by being mobile. He may attempt to maintain his status by making no change at all, or by even resisting mobility.

Actual mobility may be affected by factors which serve to impede the amount of mobility. Economic and sociological literature have hypothesized barriers to labor mobility and migration. Economists attribute imperfect labor mobility to such factors as inadequate knowledge of job opportunities and differential ability of workers (Bober 1955, p. 330). Impediments to migration hypothesized by sociologists include attachments to the family, the community, and the neighborhood, and one's social status in the community (Williams 1940, p. 302). Empirical data documenting the impediments to mobility are available.[3]

Although the selectivity of labor and geographic mobility has been documented many times, there have been only a few attempts to explain why this selectivity exists.[4] Parnes (1954, p. 124) has suggested that personal characteristics (e.g., age, sex, race) of migrants are related to institutional factors, and this may account for differential migration and job mobility in given social and economic systems.

It is important to mention, although these variables were not examined in this study, that certain environmental factors are also related to mobility. Such factors as institutional effects and economic forces undoubtedly influence personal decisions to change jobs or communities. Family and school training may instill motives toward economic and social betterment, and the recognition that mobility may be a means of achieving these ends. Institutional barriers such as labor unions, membership restrictions and management imposed hiring rules may affect the mobility of certain groups. Negroes, persons over 50 years of age, or transients may be discriminated against in hiring practices. Economic forces resulting in job availability, policies of employers and government, the level of business activity, and the industrial structure of the labor market all affect labor mobility and migration. These factors have been mentioned in research literature,[5] but have not been utilized in this study in conceptualizing the total mobility process.

Basic Concepts

The kinds of mobility dealt with in this study are *job mobility* and *migration*. As used in this study, *job mobility* is a change in the employment from which a person receives his major source of income. A job change may include a change in employer or a change into or out of self-

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[3] Wakely (1938) found that tenure status was closely associated with mobility: tenants and hired laborers were more mobile than farm owners. Sanders (1929) found that farmers with small capital investment moved more frequently than those with large investments.

[4] Smith (1953) states that cityward migrants are from the young population; Thomas (1938) found no consistent relationship between migration and level of education; Sorokin and Zimmerman (1929) found that the cities draw the extremes from the rural population; Gee (1933) found that upper and lower classes in a rural community decreased in numbers due to outmigration, while the middle class increased. Parnes (1954, pp. 100-124) summarized urban labor mobility research findings: higher mobility rates have been found among younger persons, non-whites, males, unmarried, and more educated persons.

[5] Lively and Taeuber (1939) pointed out that population pressure is a fundamental force behind rural migration. They also found, (1) little direct relationship between per capita agricultural income and migration, and (2) that the effect of urban centers upon migration is localized. Baker (1933) stated that technological progress and economic losses have stimulated migration from the farm. Hughes (undated mimeograph) examined relationships between birth rates and migration.

employment. It may involve an occupational change, employer change, industry change or all three. Job mobility refers, then, to a change in one's job, where job is defined as a continuous period of service with one employer (including self-employment).[6]

Migration, as used here refers to *community mobility* or the movement of a person from one community to another, where community means a locality grouping distinguished by recognition of the members that they constitute a community. Spatial and geographical mobility are sometimes synonyms for migration.

It is recognized that job mobility and migration may occur separately as well as together. Where they occur together a distinction must be made between a *primary* and *incidental* move; that is, one move can be isolated as the primary or basic move, and the other move occurs only because of it.

Motives Prompting Mobility

It is hypothesized that job and community mobility are prompted by particular motives identifiable in members of society. These motives are economic and social betterment. Although they are interrelated to the extent that wealth and social status are interrelated, they are identifiable as separate motivations. Motivation to maintain a given level or achieve a higher level of economic or social status underline the primary mobility (either job mobility or migration) and may also give rise to incidental mobility in cases where both job mobility and migration occur.

Motives of betterment or stability are not forces in themselves. The individual must perceive how his goals may be achieved before any force for movement or action to gratify these motives is exerted. The individual learns that by changing jobs, moving from one community to another, or by not making any change at all, he increases the probability of achieving the level of economic or social status to which he aspires. The individual who is threatened by a loss in status, may change his job or community to maintain his position. The individual who is socially or economically "ambitious" may be mobile in an effort to raise his social or economic status. Stability (or zero mobility) may be the means used by some individuals to maintain a given status level. For others it may be a means of increasing status.

Sometimes mobility occurs even when the mover recognizes that the change will result in lower social or economic position. For example, a move intended to enhance economic status may be viewed by the mover as also resulting in a decreased social status; a move intended to enhance or maintain social status may be viewed as resulting in a lower economic status. This conflict between the desired and achieved change results in *involuntary* mobility, as opposed to *voluntary* mobility, where a conflict between desired and achieved goals does not exist. A person who is laid off or fired from a job may be considered involuntarily job mobile if he perceives this change in employment status as status decreasing (either economically or socially) at the time employment is terminated. In the same manner, a farm operator who is forced to quit farming for economic reasons and is able to get only a factory job which he considers to be social status decreasing, is involuntarily job mobile.

It should be emphasized that these mobility conditions are based on subjective evaluations by the persons involved and hinge on the perceptions and beliefs of the individuals. It does not matter whether the person changing jobs actually ends up with a higher or lower income or social status, but only whether he believes he will.

Impediments to Mobility

Proposing a set of factors which might serve to prompt job mobility or migration suggests that mobility occurs very easily. Various *impediments,* however, retard mobility.

The impediments which operate to retard job mobility are different from those which retard migration. In situations characterized by both job mobility and migration, the most significant impediments are those related to the primary mobiiity objective. Impediments hypothesized to retard migration are community attachments in terms of participation in community and social organizations, local kinship attachments, attitudes toward the community which reflect the individual's feelings toward the community's progressiveness or facilities, and social status. In this study, attention is focused on those impediments to job mobility which are related to characteristics of the job; namely, job skills and capital investment. Jobs requiring special training or skills

[6] Yoder (1954) divides mobility into geographical, occupational, industrial, and mobility into and out of the labor force. Bogue (1952) had a somewhat different classification: migration, industry mobility, employer mobility, and intrafirm mobility. Parnes (1954) makes a finer distinction: that of differences between, (1) ability to move, (2) propensity to move, and (3) actual movement. Johnson (1948) recognizes that, "Mobility of the human agent out of agriculture can take two principal forms: (1) a change of residence to an urban area and (2) change of occupation involving part-time or full-time nonfarm employment by members of the family, who retain residence on the farm" (p. 161).

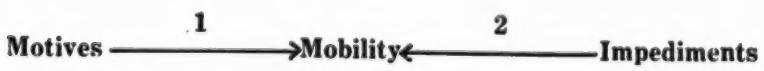
will be less easily entered because entry must be preceded by a training period. Likewise, once entered, this special investment will not be easily given up for another job. Thus special skills can be an impediment both to entry into and exit out of a job. Capital investment serves as a similar type of impediment. Capital requiring jobs can attract only persons able to borrow or accumulate financial resources. Exit from capital requiring jobs often means liquidation of at least part of this investment. Both cases may serve to impede job mobility.

In certain situations job skills and capital investment are closely interrelated. Exceptional ability in self-employment usually leads to greater capital investment from earnings which are reinvested. This is particularly true of small merchants and farm operators. For some purposes, however, the two variables may be treated separately. Particularly in non-self-employed jobs, the job skill variable assumes special importance.

It should be pointed out again that this study was primarily concerned with those factors associated with mobility which operate within a given environment. No attempt was made to assess the role of external forces. This study treated these as constant by examining mobility within a given locality and time period. A broadening of the theory to include such factors is necessary to account fully for the mobility process. Any interpretation of these data for other areas and time periods should take into consideration the different constellations of external variables involved.

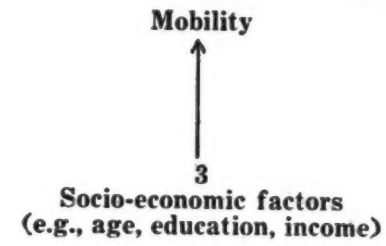
Motives-Impediment Model

Mobility which occurs within a given time and place is the net result of two opposing forces: (a) the desire for social or economic betterment or stability which motivates the individual to make a job or community change, and (b) impediments within the system which retard or limit the extent to which mobility occurs.

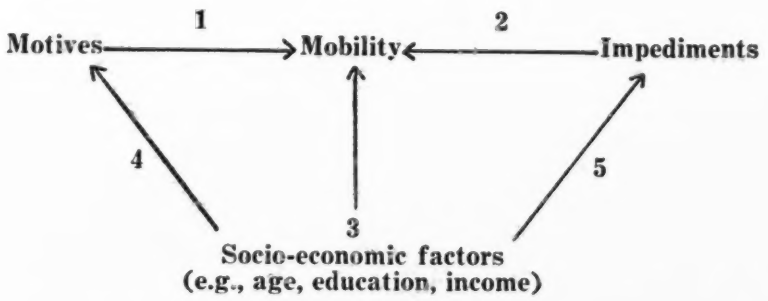


Whereas motives may function to prompt mobility (indicated by arrow 1), impeding forces may act to keep mobility from actually occurring (arrow 2). The mobility which occurs is the net result of these two opposing forces.

The literature has identified characteristics of the mobile population, indicating that in some way such factors as age, education, and income are related to job mobility, migration, or both. This relationship is shown by arrow 3 below:



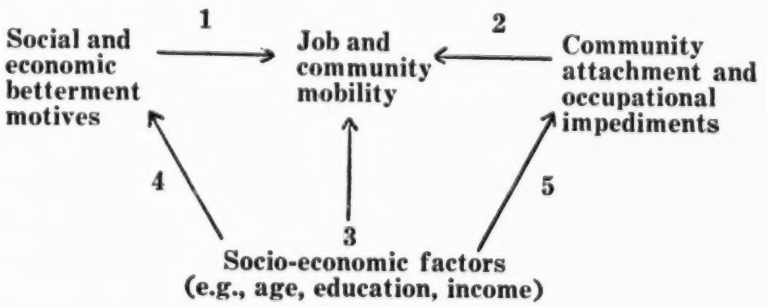
This selectivity of mobility has not been adequately explained in the literature; it has simply been reported. It is suggested in this study that personal factors are related to mobility through the motives which prompt mobility and the impediments which retard mobility. The relationship between personal factors and mobility operating through intermediate motives and impediments can be shown as follows:



The direct relationship between socio-economic factors and mobility (arrow 3), which has been discovered many times in mobility studies, may be useful in predicting rates of mobility within a given population if the precise nature of these relationships is known and is translated into mobility potentials. However, an explanation of the selectivity of mobility requires the motives and impediments to be linked to the selective factors, as indicated by arrows 4 and 5. Also, investigation of these intermediate phenomena may indicate other more meaningful factors, factors which may be more amenable to control as well as more useful for prediction.

Hypothesis Formulation

Several hypotheses can be generated from the motives-impediment model just presented. The hypotheses tested in the remainder of this study were derived from the relationships diagrammed below:



The hypotheses were:

I. Motives of social betterment are identifiable among the job-mobile and migrant populations (Arrow 1).

II. Motives of economic betterment are identifiable among the job-mobile population (Arrow 1).

III. Motives of social and economic betterment are inversely related to age, social status, and level of income (Arrow 4).

IV. Impediments in the form of capital and job skills tend to restrict the rate of job mobility (Arrow 2).

V. Impediments in the form of community attachments tend to restrict the rate of migration (Arrow 2).

VI. Impediments to job mobility are directly related to age, social status and income (Arrow 5).

VII. Impediments to migration are directly related to age, social status, education and income (Arrow 5).

VIII. The job-mobile person is more likely to be young, have a low social status, and have a low occupational income than is the non-job-mobile person (Arrow 3).

IX. The migrant person is more likely to be young, have a low social status, have less education, and have a low income than is the non-migrant person (Arrow 3).

Job Mobility in the Brookston Community

Characteristics of the Job Mobile Population

The sample of job-mobile persons from the Brookston population was selective with regard to age, occupational income, and social status.

Age. The job-mobile and non-job-mobile samples differed significantly with respect to age (Table 1): 63% of those who were job mobile were in the 31 to 42-year age group, compared with only 35% of the non-job-mobile group; 29% of the non-job-mobile individuals were in the 55 to 65-year age group, compared with only 9% of the job-mobile group.[7] These data suggest that job mobility occurred more frequently among the younger population than among the older population.

Table 1. Age of non-mobile and job-mobile persons, total Brookston population, 1958.

Age	Non-mobile		Job mobile	
Years	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
31-42	71	35	68	63
43-54	73	36	31	28
55-65	60	29	10	9
Total	204	100	109	100
$X^2=26.441$	df=2		P<.001	

Occupational Income. Data in Table 2 indicate that job-mobile people tended to have lower incomes than non-job-mobile people. A larger proportion of the job-mobile (42%) than of the non-job-mobile sample (27%), had occupational incomes of $3500 or less at the beginning of the study period. Only 11% of the job mobile had incomes over $6,000 compared with 28% of the non-job-mobile sample.

Table 2. Occupational income of job-mobile and non-mobile persons, 1958.

Income	Non-mobile		Job mobile	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
$3500 and under	15	27	20	42
$3600-6000	25	45	22	47
Over $6000	16	28	5	11
Total	56	100	47	100
$X^2=6.012$	df=2		P<.02	

Further analysis revealed that the size of occupational income is related to the existence of other income (Table 3). A significantly larger proportion of persons who had occupational incomes of $6,000 or less than those with incomes over $6,000, reported income in addition to their job income during 1957. Of the people with additional sources of income, 93% had occupational incomes of $6,000 or less; 75% of those without additional sources of incomes reported occupational incomes of $6,000 or under. The additional income eliminated differences in total income between job-mobile and non-mobile persons. No differences in *total* household income existed between job-mobile and non-mobile individuals.

Table 3. Occupational income and other sources of income (dual employment and/or wife working), 1958.

Occupational income	Other income			
	Yes		No	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
$6,000 and under	26	93	56	75
Over $6,000	2	7	19	25
Total	28	100	75	100
$X^2=4.141$	df=1		P<.05	

[7] It should be noted that these age groups represent persons who may have been 10 years younger at the time they were mobile.

Social Status. Statistically significant differences in status groupings of the job-mobile and non-job-mobile samples are presented in Table 4. Compared to the non-job-mobile group, fewer job-mobile persons had high status and more had low status. A larger proportion of job-mobile persons (23%) than of the non-mobile persons (10%), fell into the low social status category, whereas a smaller proportion of the job-mobile (9%) than of the non-mobile individuals (27%) were in the high status category.

Table 4. Social status of non-job-mobile and job-mobile, 1958.

Social Status	Non-mobile		Job mobile	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
High (2.6-4.0)[a]	16	27	5	9
Medium (4.1-6.5)	37	63	39	68
Low (6.6-7.6)	6	10	13	23
Total	59	100	57	100
$X^2=8.470$	df=2		P<.02	

[a] The scores in parentheses are standardized scores of the judges ratings; since each judge used a different number of classes the raw ranks were converted to standard scores with a mean of 5 and standard deviation of 1. (Dixon and Massey 1951, pp. 24-25.) In this system 2.6 represents the highest status rank and 7.6 the lowest.

Motives Prompting Job Mobility

Two groups of job-mobile persons were identified: the occasional changers and the frequent changers. Ninety percent of the responses to questions about the occasional job changer were favorable: "he is seeking to better himself," "he recognized opportunity," "he is ambitious," "he is looking for better opportunities." Interviewees seemed to expect a certain amount of job mobility, especially among the younger age group. A reasonable interpretation appears to be that occasional job mobility is motivated by attempts to better oneself, and is acceptable to society.

The frequent job changer, however, was considered an undesirable person, not seeking opportunity, but rather "unable to hold a job," "not really interested in working," one who is "unreliable, irresponsible," "can't work for other people," and who is "a drifter," or "floater." When asked "How would you characterize a person who has changed jobs several times in the last 10 years?" 86% of the interviewees' responses were of this nature. Data in Table 5 indicate that only 7% of the job-mobile population were frequent job changers.

It was hypothesized that motives of economic betterment were stronger for job-mobile individuals than for non-job-mobile persons. Dual

Table 5. Frequency of job changes among job-mobile group, 1948-1958.

Number of changes between 1948-1958	Number of persons	Percent of persons
1	40	56.3
2	10	14.2
3	16	22.5
4 and over	5	7.0
Total	71	100.0

employment of the head of the household or employment of other members of the household was used to measure the strength of desire for economic improvement, since the additional income was gained at the sacrifice of alternative non-economic uses of time. The hypothesis was tested by analyzing the additional sources of income of non-mobile and job-mobile persons. Data presented in Table 6 support the hypothesis. There was a statistically significant difference between proportions of job-mobile and non-job-mobile persons who had additional income. Twice the proportion of the job mobile (31%) as of the non-job-mobile (15%) indicated that they had additional jobs and/or their wives were employed during 1957.

Table 6. Other sources of income (dual employment and/or wife working) of non-mobile and job-mobile individuals, 1958.

Additional income	Non-mobile		Job mobile	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Other income	9	15	18	31
No other income	51	85	40	69
Total	60	100	58	100
$X^2=4.312$	df=1		P<.05	

Numerous studies of rural communities have cited the relationship between occupational and social status (Bendix and Lipset, 1953, pp. 411-423). Insofar as people perceive these prestige differences among jobs, it can be inferred that job changing may be at least partially related to attempts to improve one's social status or prestige.

All members of the sample were asked to rank a series of occupations on a prestige scale. Each individual's rankings were compared with his 1948 and present occupations to determine if, according to his own occupational prestige scale, he had risen or fallen in prestige during the 10-year period (Table 7). A larger proportion (72%) believed that they had increased their prestige by changing jobs than would have had

Table 7. Job-mobile persons' evaluation of prestige change accompanying job change, between 1948 job and current job.

Prestige change	Observed		Expected	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Increase	21	72	14.5	50
Decrease	8	28	14.5	50
Total	29	100	29.0	100
$X^2=5.826$	df=1		P<.02	

no relationship between social betterment and job mobility existed. These findings support the hypothesis that motives of social betterment exist among the job-mobile population.

Impediments to Job Mobility

The conceptual framework implies that impediments operate in opposition to those forces exerted by motives. They tend to limit the amount and influence the type of job mobility which occurs. It was hypothesized that two major barriers to entry into or exit from a given occupation are large capital requirements, and special training or skills. From this hypothesis it follows that occupations requiring capital investment and special skills or training will be less frequently entered or left than occupations not requiring these factors.

Evidence which supports this hypothesis is presented in Table 8. Factors tending to impede mobility from various occupations are related to the occupations. Thus, a significantly larger proportion of mobility occurred from sales, semiskilled, unskilled and farm labor jobs which require few special job skills or capital investment, than from professional, farm, and skilled occupations which do require special job skills or capital investment.

The same impediments limit movement into certain occupations. A higher proportion of the mobile population moved into clerical, semiskilled, unskilled, and farm labor jobs than into the professional and farm operator categories.

Table 9 presents a more detailed analysis of the patterns of job mobility in the Brookston community. These data show that movement into capital requiring occupations (e.g., manager, proprietor) was largely from other capital requiring occupations (farm operators and proprietors) and that movement out of the low skill occupations (semiskilled, unskilled, and farm labor) was largely into other low skill jobs.

Since income from self-employment generally implies some capital investment in the job, additional information about the retarding effect of capital requirements on job mobility can be obtained from income data. Table 10 reveals that there was a significant difference between the non-mobile and the job-mobile groups when they were classified by source of income. Over half of the individuals in the non-mobile sample (63%) were self-employed, compared to only 25% of the job mobile sample.

Although this study was not primarily designed to determine relationships between characteristics of the mobile population and impediments to mobility, there are some supplementary data which do support the interconnections hypothesized in the motives-impediments model.

In the young age group (31-42 years old), which was more job mobile than older age groups, a significantly larger proportion of the job-mobile sample (52%) than of the non-mobile sample (23%) were semiskilled and unskilled job holders (Table 11). Perhaps one way in which young people are sometimes motivated to better themselves is to move into jobs with fewer skill and capital requirements.

Certain socio-economic characteristics, some of which are associated with job mobility, can be clustered into meaningful groups and used to identify social classes. These social status groups are based on subjective evaluations by community residents. In Brookston, a person's social status is largely based on what he makes for himself, not what he is born with. Thus economic factors, behavior, symbols of economic success, and his job may influence a person's social status in the community.

Correlations between subjective status rankings and certain objective characteristics revealed

Table 8. Job mobility of Brookston population, last job change.

Occupation	Non-mobile		Job mobile: From [a]		Job mobile: To [b]	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional	19	8	4	3	0	0
Manager, proprietor	23	10	15	12	18	14
Farm operator	112	46	26	21	12	10
Clerical, sales	12	5	15	12	18	14
Skilled	28	12	9	7	16	13
Semiskilled	27	11	22	18	25	20
Unskilled	14	6	16	13	23	19
Farm labor	6	2	17	14	12	10
Total	241	100	124	100	124	100

[a] $X^2=48.544$ df=7 P<.001
[b] $X^2=77.631$ df=7 P<.001

Table 9. Last occupational change, Brookston population.

Job moved into	Job moved out of								
	Profes-sional	Manager, proprietor	Farm operator	Sales, clerical	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	Farm labor	Total
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Manager, proprietor	0	2	9	3	3	1	0	0	18
Farm operator	3	2	0	2	0	2	2	3	14
Sales, clerical	1	5	2	5	1	2	2	0	18
Skilled	0	0	2	4	3	6	1	0	16
Semiskilled	0	6	6	1	2	5	3	0	23
Unskilled	0	0	7	0	0	5	7	4	23
Farm labor	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	10	12
Total	4	15	26	15	9	22	16	17	124

that type of occupation ($r = .5815$) and community participation ($r = .6358$) were associated with these rankings. Where occupation affects status it is likely that job mobility will occur among higher status seekers. In such a system, job mobility may affect the flexibility of the status system as well as being affected by the status system. This suggests that job mobility and a flexible status system exist together in society.

A type of social class configuration was discernible in Brookston, although no exact agreement existed among community members as to how many classes there were (i.e., some claimed there were only two classes, others saw at least five). Four classes can be fairly clearly identified as follows:[8]

1. The top group consists of long-time community residents who are economically successful and possess attributes of stability in their relationships with others in the community, their job, and their group participation.

2. The second group consists of so-called "average" citizens—the bulk of the community who are "hard workers," "honest," do not "cause trouble," "mind their own business," and are considered stable rather than economically successful.

3. The third group consists of the "below average" person, who is economically unsuccessful, may be "dishonest," does not participate in the community, and is "unstable."

4. A few "floaters," "drifters," "drunks, and irresponsible people," comprise the fourth group. These are the frequent job changers.

There was a very clear relationship between the three major status groups and type of occu-

[8] These class distinctions were determined by the author through informal participation and interviewing in the community. No claim is made as to the complete objectivity of this method. This method, however, has had widespread use in studies of social stratification (for example see West, 1945).

Table 10. Type of income of job-mobile and non-mobile samples, all jobs between 1948 and 1958.

Type of income	Non-mobile		Job mobile	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Self-employed	38	63	28	25
Commission	3	5	4	4
Salary	14	23	46	42
Hourly wage	5	8	32	29
Total	60	100	110	100

$X^2 = 25.871$ $df = 3$ $P < .001$

Table 11. Occupational distribution of non-mobile and job-mobile persons, 31-42 age group.

Occupation class	Non-mobile (current job)		Job mobile (last job held)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Professional	1	4	2	6
Manager, proprietor	3	11	3	9
Farmer	13	50	6	18
Clerical, sales	2	8	3	9
Skilled	1	4	2	6
Semiskilled	6	23	7	20
Unskilled	0	0	11	32
Total	26	100	34	100

$X^2 = 13.866$ $df = 6$ $P < .05$

Table 12. Occupation and social status, 1958.

Occupation class	Social status		
	High	Average	Low
Professional	2	0	0
Manager, proprietor	8	10	0
Farmer	9	25	0
Sales, clerical	2	10	1
Skilled	0	7	5
Semiskilled	0	13	5
Unskilled	0	11	8
Total	21	76	19

pation in Brookston. The high status persons were found almost entirely in occupations requiring substantial skill, education and capital. The low status persons were found almost entirely in jobs requiring little skill and capital (Table 12). This may explain the relationship noted earlier between social status and job mobility. There are few impediments to job mobility among the low status persons and many impediments among the high status persons.

Mobility Out of Agriculture

Job mobility in rural American society frequently represents movement out of agriculture. Mobility out of agriculture was examined using a special sample of individuals who had stopped farming during the study period.[9]

Characteristics of the Job Mobile

Age. Movement out of agriculture occurred largely among younger persons. Data in Table 13 support previously reported data that the young person was more job mobile than the old person. Over half the former farm operators (53%) quit farming between the ages of 31 and 42, whereas only 6% quit between the ages of 55 and 65. This is in marked contrast to the 1958 age distribution of farmers in Brookston: 53% were 55 to 65 years old and only 35% were 31 to 42 years old.

Table 13. Age of farmers and former farmers, 1958.

Age	Current farmers		Former farmers (Age when quit farming)	
Years	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
31-42	6	35	17	53
43-54	2	12	13	41
55-65	9	53	2	6
Total	17	100	32	100

$X^2 = 14.527$ df = 2 $P < .001$

Occupational Income. Although inadequate data do not permit a comparison of net incomes between the two groups of farmers at the time mobility occurred, it is possible to compare gross income and farm size. These are examined later in the section on impediments to job mobility. Results support earlier findings that a larger proportion of job mobility occurred among the low income groups.

Social Status. The social status ranks of current and former farm operators reflect the same status differences found between the job-mobile and non-job-mobile samples (Table 14). A large proportion of low status farmers were job mobile, and a small proportion of high status farmers were mobile. Whereas 16% of the former farm operators were in the low status group, none of the current farmers were. Only 7% of the former farm operators compared to 35% of the current farmers were classified as high status individuals.

Table 14. Social status of current farmers and former farmers, 1958.

Social status	Current farmers		Former farmers	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
High	6	35	2	7
Medium	11	65	23	77
Low	0	0	5	16
Total	17	100	30	100

$X^2 = 8.225$ df = 2 $P < .02$

Motives Prompting Mobility Out of Agriculture

Additional sources of income were used to indicate desire for improved economic status. Additional income may also indicate a decline in the major source of income, since additional income may be sought to maintain as well as to improve the total income level. This may be particularly true in farming. Table 15 presents evidence that a large proportion of former farmers had additional sources of income compared to current farmers. Whereas 34% of the former farm operators reported other income during the last year they farmed, none of the current farmers had income from other sources of employment.

The desire to improve one's social status was

Table 15. Other sources of income (dual employment or wife working) of current and former farm operators.

Additional income	Current farmers		Former farmers (last year farmed)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Other income	0	0	10	34
No other income	17	100	19	66
Total	17	100	29	100

$X^2 = 7.505$ df = 1 $P < .01$

[9] A special sample was drawn from those who had quit farming in the Brookston community during the 1948-1958 study period. Since the total number of current Brookston community residents who had quit farming during this period was small (only 30), a complete enumeration was attempted. Twenty-four Brookston residents were interviewed, as well as eight who had moved out of Brookston, making a total of 32 former farm operators. The 24 represent an 80 percent sample of current Brookston residents who had left agriculture; the eight represent an unknown sampling ratio of former Brookston residents who had left agriculture, since data for this group were incomplete.

Table 16. Evaluations by job mobile persons of prestige change accompanying job change.

Prestige change	Job mobile		Former farmers	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Increase	20	87	6	40
Decrease	3	13	9	60
Total	23	100	15	100
$X^2=9.251$	df=1		P<.01	

found to exist among a majority of the job-mobile sample (Table 6). However, *less than half the former farm operators believed they actually did increase their social status by quitting farming, compared to 87% of other job changers who believed their status was increased by changing jobs* (Table 16). This difference between the job-mobile sample and the former farm operator sample suggests that some job mobility among former farm operators was involuntary, since the largest number of former farmers entered jobs requiring little or no skill (Table 9) and, in the Brookston community farming has more prestige than these jobs. For this reason, farm operators who do not see alternatives that will raise or maintain their status, are likely to remain in farming beyond the time when it is economically wise to quit. It is hypothesized that the motive to maintain status may be as great as the motive to improve income. The data also suggest that few job alternatives are open to the lower income farm operator other than factory labor and that because of the status decreasing effect of quitting farming, such persons favor migration out of the community. Ploch (1958) reported that entry into the broiler industry in Maine served as a status raiser to the 52% of the present growers who were blue collar workers. It may be significant that over half of the entries into agriculture in the Maine study were from these blue collar jobs. An increase in status may have been a motive prompting mobility into agriculture. Mobility out of agriculture appears to be impeded by this desire to not lose status.

Impediments to Mobility Out of Agriculture

Data on job changes in Brookston (Tables 8 and 9) indicate that less mobility occurred in occupations requiring special skills and capital than in those requiring little or no skills or capital. Since farming requires both skill and capital, explanations of mobility into and out of agriculture must be studied in terms of the relative degree of skill and the quantity of capital possessed by individual farmers. The conceptual framework suggests that farmers with smaller capital investments and less farming skill are more likely to quit farming than farmers with large capital investments and much farming skill.

No relationship was found between amount of investment in machinery and livestock, and mobility out of agriculture. However, investments in land did differentiate the mobile from the non-mobile population. A majority (69%) of the former farm operators rented some or all of the land they had farmed, compared with only 41% of the current farmers (Table 17). The farm operator who owned farmland moved out of agriculture less readily than the tenant. Capital investment in land was therefore an impediment to job mobility.

Table 17. Owned and rented farmland of current and former farm operators.

Tenancy	Current farmers		Former farmers	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Full owners	10	59	10	31
Tenants	7	41	22	69
Total	17	100	32	100
$X^2=3.488$	df=1		P<.10	

Another measure of the size of the farm business is gross farm sales. The majority of former farm operators (65%) had sales of $10,000 or less, whereas 67% of the current farmers had gross sales of over $10,000 (Table 18).

Thus, mobility out of agriculture has been most prevalent among operators of smaller farms (measured by gross sales) and among tenants.

Table 18. Gross farm sales (adjusted) of current and former farm operators, 1957.

Amount of sales	Current farmers		Former farmers (last year farmed)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
$10,000 and under	6	40	11	65
Over $10,000	9	60	6	35
Total	15	100	17	100
$X^2=2.015$	df=1		P<.20	

Voluntary and Involuntary Job Mobility

Mobility out of agriculture can be dichotomized into voluntary and involuntary mobility. The voluntarily mobile individuals quit farming to better themselves economically or socially and experienced little conflict between their job shifts and the realization of their economic and social

goals. For the involuntarily mobile, however, there was a definite conflict between their job change and their betterment goals.

A relationship was found between both voluntary and involuntary mobility and certain socio-economic characteristics of these mobile persons (i.e., type of job entered, age, education, managerial ability, social status, transfer of capital, and transfer of job skills).

Individuals in the voluntarily mobile group typically transferred their capital into other capital requiring occupations, while individuals in the involuntarily mobile group shifted capital into the purchase of a home, government bonds, or other safe, low risk forms. Job skills were shifted in a similar manner. The voluntarily mobile transferred managerial skills to the new job; the involuntarily mobile transferred manual skills.

Table 19. Characteristics of the two groups of former farm operators.

Individual number	Education[a]	Age[b]	Managerial score[c]	Social status[d]	Total rankings
Small Business or White Collar Occupations Entered					
1	2	1	2	2	
2	2	1	3	3	
3	1	1	1	1	
4	3	2	3	3	
5	1	1	2	3	
6	2	1	1	2	
7	3	1	1	2	
8	2	2	2	2	
9	3	2	-	2	
10	1	1	1	2	
11	1	3	1	2	
12	1	1	1	1	
13	1	3	1	2	
Skilled, Semiskilled and Unskilled Occupations Entered					
14	3	3	3	2	
15	3	2	3	2	
16	3	2	1	2	
17	3	3	3	2	
18	2	2	2	3	
19	3	2	2	2	
20	1	1	1	2	
21	2	1	2	-	
22	3	2	2	-	
23	3	3	2	2	
24	2	3	3	3	
25	3	2	3	3	
26	3	3	-	2	
27	2	1	3	2	
28	2	1	1	2	
29	2	2	3	2	
30	3	2	3	2	
31	3	2	2	2	
32	3	2	-	3	
33	3	1	2	2	

Total	
Number	Percent
1=23	45
2=18	35
3=10	20
—	——
51	100

Total	
Number	Percent
1= 8	11
2=36	49
3=29	40
—	——
73	100

[a] Education:
1=over 12 years
2=12 years
3=less than 12 years

[b] Age:
1=31-42 years
2=43-54 years
3=55-65 years

[c] Managerial score:
1=high (24-36)
2=average (11-23)
3=low (0-10)

[d] Social status:
1=high (2.6-4.0)
2=average (4.1-6.5)
3=low (6.6-7.6)

In the first case, job changes represented both economic and social improvement because these jobs generally brought higher economic status and the same or higher social status. To the involuntarily mobile, however, job changes generally brought higher economic status, but lower social status.

The type of job entered was found to be related to age, social status, education, and managerial ability in farming. Table 19 presents these relationships. The voluntarily job mobile, who shifted primarily into small business or white collar occupations, were younger, better educated, had higher social status, and were probably more efficient farm operators than the involuntarily mobile. These characteristics are reflected by the large proportion of "1's" in the top part of Table 19 (45%). The involuntarily mobile shifted largely into semiskilled and unskilled jobs. Only 11% of their total characteristics were in the "1" category.

The high social status of the voluntarily mobile is probably linked to their occupations, education, and success in transferring capital and skills into more profitable uses. Their managerial abilities are at least partly a function of education although both may be a function of a third variable. Since youth is associated with mobility and motives of economic betterment, and older age is associated with stability and motives of status maintenance, the probability is greater that a person over 45 who makes a job change is doing it involuntarily. In this framework age is inversely related to level of education, social status, and managerial ability. In addition, older persons may tend to feel that they will "stick it out" until they can retire and receive social security. The data tend to verify this clustering of variables.

Migration in the Brookston Area

Migration of rural populations is a continuing phenomenon in American society. The rate of migration and the characteristics of the migrant have been found to vary over time and from one region to another. This section is concerned with those factors which tend to prompt or impede migration. An attempt was also made to determine what relationships exist between these factors and the characteristics of the migrant population.

Characteristics of the Migrant Population

Age. Migration in the Brookston community was found to occur in larger proportion among the younger age group (31-42 years old).[10] Over half (57%) of the migrants were in the 31-42 age group and only 12% were in the 55-65 age group. Of the non-migrants, 39% were in the young age group and 27% were in the old age group (Table 20).

Education. A significant difference in educational level was found between the migrant and non-migrant populations. A larger proportion of the migrant population (26%) than of the non-migrants (16%) had some college education, whereas a larger proportion of the non-migrant population (46%) than of the migrant population (37%) had less than 12 years of schooling (Table 21).

Occupational Income. There was also a significant difference between the migrant and non-migrant samples in income level (Table 22). A larger proportion of migrants (54%) than of non-migrants (36%), were in the middle income group ($3600-6000), whereas a larger proportion of the non-migrants (45%) than of the migrants (26%) were in the lower income group ($3500 and less).

Social Status. At a lower level of statistical significance there was a difference in status levels of migrants and non-migrants. Twice the proportion of non-migrants (24%) as of migrants (12%), had high status. The majority of migrants (73%) had average status compared to slightly over half (57%) of the non-migrants (Table 23).

Motives Prompting Migration

In the same way that the reasons for job mobility served to indicate some motivation behind changes in jobs, the reasons for migration can indicate similar motives. Table 24 shows that in a majority of cases (88%), individuals migrated for reasons related to their job or to better themselves.

Evidence of improvement in the social status of migrants can be obtained by comparing migrants and non-migrants with respect to their beliefs that their job changes involved a rise in social status (see Table 7). Of those who thought they increased status by changing jobs, 69% were migrants, and 31% were non-migrants

[10] This means that migrants may be between the ages of 21 and 42, since anyone who changed community of residence during the previous ten years was a migrant by the definition used in this study.

Table 20. Age of migrants and non-migrants, 1958.

Age	Migrant		Non-migrant	
Years	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
31-42	56	57	83	39
43-54	31	31	73	34
55-65	12	12	58	27
Total	99	100	214	100

$X^2 = 11.866$ df = 2 $P < .01$

Table 21. Education level of migrants and non-migrants, 1958.

Education	Migrant		Non-migrant	
Years	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 12	40	37	102	46
12	40	37	86	38
Over 12	28	26	35	16
Total	108	100	223	100

$X^2 = 5.321$ df = 2 $P < .10$

Table 22. Occupational income of migrants and non-migrants, 1957.

Income	Migrant		Non-migrant	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
$3,500 and under	15	26	25	45
3,600-6,000	31	54	20	36
Over 6,000	11	20	11	19
Total	57	100	56	100

$X^2 = 4.920$ df = 2 $P < .10$

Table 23. Social status of migrants and non-migrants, 1958.

Social status	Migrant		Non-migrant	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
High	8	12	13	24
Average	45	73	31	57
Low	9	15	10	19
Total	62	100	54	100

$X^2 = 3.309$ df = 2 $P < .20$

Table 24. Reason for community change.

Reason for migration	Number	Percent
Job (change in, type of, to be closer to)	48	52
To better self	33	36
Health	5	5
Retired	4	4
Dislike town	2	2
All reasons	92	100

(Table 25). This difference was significantly greater than would have been expected had no relationship existed between migration and social betterment.

Another indication that social betterment is a reason for migrating can be seen in Table 23. Since 73% of the migrant population in the middle class group had average social status scores, and since most social mobility occurs in this group, it is probable that migration is related to motives of social betterment.

The person who believes that his status in a community may hinder his chances for improvement (e.g., the kind of job he can get, or his social life) is likely to migrate. The man who said, "I'll always be Sam Black's boy to people in Brookston; I had to leave to make anything out of my life," expresses the motivation which appears to affect migration.

Just as with job mobility, desire to maintain status may tend to retard migration from a community. Only 12% of the migrants had high status scores compared to 24% of the non-migrants.

Impediments to Migration

Community attachments were hypothesized to be the major impediment to migration. They are defined here in terms of the degree of community participation, attitude toward the community, and strength of kinship ties. It would seem that a larger proportion of the non-migrants participate more actively in the community, have more favorable attitudes toward the community, and stronger kinship ties than do the migrants.

Community participation (i.e., degree of participation in local social organizations such as church, PTA, card clubs, Farm Bureau, neighborhood country clubs, or Masonic lodge) was measured by a standard technique (Hay, 1948) which assigns the following numerical values to community participation:

1—Membership
2—Occasional attendance
3—Regular attendance
4—Committee member
5—Officer

Data from this study indicated no difference between participation scores of migrants and non-migrants. It may be that improved transportation and popular acceptance of long distance travel have helped prolong attachments despite migration to other areas. Since the individuals in the sample had not moved more than 50 miles from Brookston, contact with Brookston community members did not need to be completely broken due to distance.

Table 25. Increase in social status of migrants and non-migrants.

Migration category	Observed		Expected	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Migrant	18	69	13	50
Non-migrant	8	31	13	50
Total	26	100	26	100

$X^2 = 3.846$ df = 1 $P < .05$

However, the correlation between community participation scores and social status ($r = .636$) suggests that if community participation were an impediment to migration, the proportion of migrants with high status would be less than the proportion of non-migrants with high status. Data in Table 23 support this relationship.

Attitudes toward the community were measured by a series of questions derived from a study by Davies (1945). The questions were designed to reveal people's feelings toward the community's progressiveness, inhabitants and facilities. Scores indicated the favorableness of the individual's attitudes about the community and served as a measure of community attachments. It was hypothesized that migrants would have low scores (unfavorable attitudes) and non-migrants would have high scores (favorable attitudes). A statistically significant difference was found between migrants' and non-migrants' attitude scores (Table 26). Although 61% of the migrants had low scores, only 35% of the non-migrants had low scores; 39% of the migrants compared to 65% of the non-migrants had high scores.

Kinship ties (i.e., the number of relatives who were not immediate family members but were considered "close relatives") were used as another measure of community attachments. It was hypothesized that the number of close relatives living in a community would be greater for non-migrants than for migrants and that kinship ties might be a factor tending to hold persons in a given locality. The data suggest that this is a reasonable hypothesis (Table 27). Whereas 21% of the non-migrants had no close relatives in Brookston and 34% had 3 or more relatives in the community, 44% of the migrant population had no relatives living in Brookston and only 15% had 3 or more relatives in the community. Kinship ties apparently tend to impede migration.

Although the relationship between community attachments and migration was not strong, it did

Table 26. Migrants' and non-migrants' attitudes toward the community.

Attitude score	Migrants		Non-migrants	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
High	12	39	17	65
Low	19	61	9	35
Total	31	100	26	100

$X^2=4.073$ df=1 $P<.05$

Table 27. Kinship ties of migrants and non-migrants with Brookston residents.

Number of kin	Migrants		Non-migrants	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
None	12	44	12	21
1-2	11	41	25	45
3 and over	4	15	19	34
Total	27	100	56	100

$X^2=5.797$ df=2 $P<.10$

Table 28. Age of non-migrant farmers and migrant farmers, 1958.

Age	Non-migrants		Migrants	
Years	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
31-42	6	35	6	50
43-54	2	12	4	33
55-65	9	53	2	17
Total	17	100	12	100

$X^2=4.387$ df=2 $P<.10$

Table 29. Other sources of income of non-migrant and migrant farmers, 1958.

Additional income	Non-migrant		Migrant	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Other income	0	0	3	25
No other income	17	100	9	75
Total	17	100	12	100

$X^2=4.752$ df=1 $P<.05$

Table 30. Farm tenancy of non-migrant and migrant farmers, 1958.

Tenancy	Non-migrant		Migrants	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Owners (part or full)	10	59	4	21
Tenants	7	41	15	79
Total	17	100	19	100

$X^2=5.422$ df=1 $P<.02$

indicate that persons with fewer attachments were more likely to migrate. However, the short distances moved by the migrants in this study and the increasingly more effective communication system in rural areas may tend to minimize the effects of attachments on the rate of migration. In addition, a portion of migration may be explainable in terms of the job mobility which in some instances accompanies migration. Motives of economic betterment, expressed in terms of job mobility, may outweigh community attachments. Migration may be incidental to job mobility.

The Migrant Farmer

There was a great deal of migration among farm operators. The largest proportion of migrants from Brookston were farm operators at the time they moved and the largest proportion of migrants to Brookston were former farm operators (Table 34). Available data suggest that migration of farm operators was related to economic betterment. Since the migrant farmer was younger than the non-migrant farmer (Table 28) and youth was found to be associated with betterment, the large proportion (50%) of young migrants suggests motives of betterment.

Data in Table 29 also suggest that the migrant was seeking economic betterment, since a greater proportion (25%) of the migrant farmers than of the non-migrants, had additional sources of income.

In addition, the majority of migrant farmers (79%) were tenants at the time they migrated (Table 30). There are two possible explanations of this: (a) youth is associated with tenancy, and (b) non-ownership of farm land tends to increase job mobility and migration.

Another interpretation of the data is that farmers who migrated may have been either voluntary or involuntary movers. The young operator, who was a tenant and who was dually employed to acquire necessary capital for expansion, may have migrated voluntarily. Such farmers commented that they moved in order to buy land, or to farm a larger unit. They seem to have been motivated by a desire for economic betterment, and may end up eventually either as full-time operators or out of agriculture. The data suggest both alternatives but it is not possible to predict from this study which of the efficient farm operators will quit and which will not quit.

On the other hand, many of the older migrants who were tenants may have migrated involuntarily. They commented that the landlord "called

for the land," and they were forced to look for another farm. Being unable to find one in the same community, they migrated. Perhaps these migrants turn up later as those who quit farming, since they possess characteristics similar to those who involuntarily leave agriculture.

Migration can also be interpreted as a result of environmental factors which may partially effect a change in the farm unit causing the operator to migrate. Such factors as changes in technology and market conditions may give a competitive advantage to larger producers and thus require changes in farm units when expansion of the existing farm is not possible (Johnson and Smith, 1959).

Differentiation Between Job Mobility and Migration

The literature on mobility has pointed out that job mobility and migration may occur alone or together. The conceptual framework presented earlier provided a distinction between a *primary* and *incidental* move in cases where both job mobility and migration occurred in the same move. The preceding sections have dealt with job mobility and migration separately without taking into account whether these types of mobility occurred alone or together. The following analysis distinguishes between job mobility, migration, and dual mobility (combined job mobility and migration).

Characteristics of the Differentiated Mobile Groups

Age. The age distributions of the three types of mobility differed significantly (Table 31). Compared with the non-mobile group, each mobility category had a larger proportion of young people (31-42) and a smaller proportion of older people (55-65).

Education. Individuals in the three mobility categories differed in education. The dual mobility category had the smallest proportion of less than high school graduates and the largest proportion of college educated persons, as well as the largest proportion of high school graduates. The job-mobile group had the smallest proportion of college educated persons, and together with the non-mobile group, the largest proportion of less than high school graduates (Table 32).

Table 31. Age of total Brookston population, by mobility categories, 1958[a].

Migration	Age	Job mobility: Non-mobile		Job mobility: Mobile	
	Years	No.	%	No.	%
Non-migrant	31-42	50	32	33	57
	43-54	54	35	19	33
	55-65	52	33	6	10
	Total	156	100	58	100
Migrant	31-42	21	44	35	68
	43-54	19	39	12	24
	55-65	8	17	4	8
	Total	48	100	51	100

$X^2 = 19.629$ df = 2 $P < .001$

[a] Multiple contingency test (Sutcliffe, 1957).

Table 32. Education level of total Brookston population, by mobility categories, 1958.

Migration	Education	Job mobility: Non-mobile		Job mobility: Mobile	
	Years	No.	%	No.	%
Non-migrant	Less than 12	79	46	23	46
	12	66	38	20	40
	More than 12	28	16	7	14
	Total	173	100	50	100
Migrant	Less than 12	25	44	15	29
	12	19	33	21	42
	More than 12	13	23	15	29
	Total	57	100	51	100

$X^2 = 24.410$ df = 2 $P < .001$

Social Status. There was a statistically significant difference in social status between the mobility types (Table 33). The job-mobile group had the largest proportion of low status persons and the smallest proportion of high status persons. The migrant group had the largest proportion of middle status persons and the smallest proportion of low status persons. The non-mobile group had the largest proportion of high status persons.

Table 33. Social status by mobility categories, 1958.

Migration	Social status	Job mobility: Non-mobile		Job mobility: Mobile	
		No.	%	No.	%
Non-migrant	High	12	35	1	5
	Medium	17	50	14	70
	Low	5	15	5	25
	Total	34	100	20	100
Migrant	High	4	16	4	11
	Medium	20	80	25	68
	Low	1	4	8	21
	Total	25	100	37	100

$X^2 = 9.432$ df = 2 $P < .02$

Occupation. The three mobility categories differed significantly in proportions of persons in each occupation (Table 34). The dual mobility group had the largest proportion of farm laborers, and the job-mobile group had the largest proportion of semiskilled and unskilled job holders, as well as the smallest proportion of professional persons. The migrant group had the largest proportion of professionals and skilled job holders, and the smallest proportion of unskilled and farm laborers. The largest proportion of farm operators were non-mobile.

Table 34. Occupational distribution by mobility categories for the total Brookston population.

Migration	Occupation	Job mobility: Non-mobile No.	Non-mobile %	Mobile[a] No.	Mobile[a] %
Non-migrant	Professional	9	5	0	0
	Manager, proprietor	21	12	6	12
	Farm operator	90	49	11	22
	Sales, clerical	8	4	6	12
	Skilled	19	10	6	12
	Semiskilled	19	10	10	20
	Unskilled	13	7	7	14
	Farm labor	6	3	3	6
	Total	185	100	49	100
Migrant	Professional	10	18	4	5
	Manager, proprietor	2	4	9	12
	Farm operator	22	39	15	20
	Sales, clerical	4	7	9	12
	Skilled	9	16	3	4
	Semiskilled	8	14	12	16
	Unskilled	1	2	9	12
	Farm labor	0	---	14	19
	Total	56	100	75	100

$X^2 = 71.129$ df = 7 $P < .001$

[a] Occupation listed is the one immediately prior to the last job change.

Several problems arise in analyzing the occupational distribution of the migrant group. Problems in defining job mobility led to the inclusion of certain persons in the migrant category who might be thought of as job mobile. Professional persons who move from one community to another do not change jobs according to definitions used in this study. They receive their income from self-employment (physicians, lawyers), from governmental sources (teachers), or church denominations (ministers). These persons may represent a special group of migrants who move for reasons different from those hypothesized in the model.

Farm operators (including tenant farmers) who move from one community to another and change farm units are also considered migrants, but not job mobile since they remain self-employed and their sources of income do not change. Farm laborers, on the other hand, change employers when they migrate, and although they do not make occupational changes, they do make job changes.

The inclusion of professional people and farm operators in the migrant category and the exclusion of farm laborers tend to alter the distribution of age, education, and status characteristics among the mobility categories. This should be taken into account in evaluating the data.

Motives of Betterment and Voluntary-Involuntary Mobility

The distribution of age, education, social status, and occupation among the mobility categories suggests a series of relationships between each mobility type, motives of betterment and voluntary-involuntary mobility.

Job-Mobile. The job-mobile sample had the smallest proportion of professionals and the largest proportions of sales, semiskilled, and unskilled persons of all mobility categories. This could be related to the age distribution (youth was found to be associated with lesser skill occupations, Table 11), and to social status (high status was associated with professional occupations and low status with occupations requiring little skill, Table 12). The job-mobile group also had the largest proportion of low status persons, and the smallest proportion of high status persons. No difference in the distribution of level of education was found between the job-mobile and non-job-mobile groups. The job-mobile group was slightly younger than the non-mobile group.

Low social status was found to be related both to voluntary and involuntary job mobility. Thus the high proportion of the job mobile who were of low status suggests that individuals motivated by economic betterment and the involuntarily job mobile were both present in this group.

Dual mobility. The dual mobility group had the largest proportion of farm laborers and the smallest proportion of skilled laborers. The largest proportion of young (31-42) and college educated persons, as well as the smallest proportion of the less than high school educated persons, were job mobile and migrant. There were fewer high status persons and a larger proportion of low status persons than in the non-mobile group.

The young age of this group may reflect voluntary job mobility, and the high level of education may reflect motives of economic and social betterment as well as voluntary job mobility. The

dually mobile person was more likely to be seeking betterment and to be voluntarily job mobile.

Migrant. The migrant sample had the largest proportion of professionals and farmers, very few businessmen and unskilled laborers, and no farm laborers. Occupationally the migrant represented quite a different type of person than the job-mobile individual whether migrant or non-migrant.

Occupation was related to social status. Since professionals and farm operators were generally accorded high status (Table 12), the proportion of migrants who were in these occupational classes is consistent with the large proportion of high status persons who were also migrants.

The large proportion of middle status migrants suggests that migrants were prompted by desire for social betterment (since most social mobility has been found to occur from the middle class). In addition, the small proportion of low status migrants suggests economic betterment did not prompt migration (since in general low status persons were found to not seek economic betterment). Migrant farm operators, however, were found to be motivated by a desire for economic betterment.

The large proportion of high status non-mobile persons suggests that status maintenance tends to impede migration.

A summary of the relationships between mobility type and motives of betterment and voluntary-involuntary mobility is presented in Table 35.

Table 35. Comparison of characteristics of three mobility types, 1958.

Characteristics	Rankings of mobility types		
	Job mobile	Dual	Migrant
Age:			
Young (31-42)	Medium	Highest[a, c, d]	Lowest
Old (55-65)	Medium	Lowest	Highest
Education:			
Less than high school	Lowest	Highest[a, c, d]	Medium
College	Highest	Lowest	Medium
Social status:			
Upper	Lowest	Medium	Highest
Middle	Medium	Lowest	Highest[d]
Lower	Highest[b, c]	Medium	Lowest
Occupation:			
Professional	Lowest	Medium	Highest
Semi and unskilled	Highest	Medium	Lowest

These characteristics were identified with:

a Voluntary job mobility
b Involuntary job mobility
c Economic betterment motive
d Social betterment motive

The comparative terms (highest, medium, lowest) refer to the proportion of the particular category, with reference to the other two mobility types, found in the mobility type indicated.

Implications

For Research

Tests of hypotheses generated from the conceptual framework tended to support the over-all structure of the framework.

However, there are many aspects of the conceptual framework which need further investigation. One is the relationship between motives of status maintenance and non-mobility. If the desire to maintain status is a force which influences behavior, then non-mobility may be hypothesized to be related to betterment motives. Future investigation should be directed towards identifying status maintenance motives within the non-mobile population.

Other measures of motives for economic and social betterment would aid in strengthening the conceptual framework. Attempts should also be made to identify other motives. Individuals' perceptions of means to achieve enhanced economic status were not investigated in this study, but such an approach might indicate why job mobility is considered by some people to be a means of attaining economic betterment as well as why larger numbers of people do not seek economic betterment by changing jobs.

Undoubtedly, people who are motivated by economic goals possess identifiable characteristics other than those noted in this study. Childhood deprivation, attitudes toward economic success instilled by parents, and pressing financial problems may all serve as motivations for economic betterment or stability which in turn may prompt job mobility.

The desire to better social status may be understood more clearly after further investigation. Perhaps certain people are extraordinarily aware of social status differences and are motivated by a desire for status enhancement.

A more definite identification of the impediments to job mobility and migration is necessary before the conceptual framework can be validated. Further study of the non-mobile population may reveal the nature of impediments better than an examination of the mobile population. The list of impediments, particularly migration impediments, found in this study was small. Possibly some values which people hold affect job mobility and migration. The reasons for mobility discussed earlier suggest commonly held beliefs that for certain purposes, such as attempted betterment, mobility is acceptable, but in other cases mobility is frowned upon. Perhaps these normative attitudes function as impediments.

Dual employment of a large portion of the

job-mobile population raises a question regarding the role of additional income in the economic plans of the household. Is dual employment a means of achieving higher income permanently? Apparently not, because most dually employed persons were job mobile. Perhaps dual employment can be viewed as a mobility step although dually employed individuals entered the additional job on a full-time basis only in some of the cases in this study. What is important, and sheds some light on the part-time farming issue, is the frequency with which dually employed persons became job mobile. The data from this study support the hypothesis that part-time farming is a step in the process of moving out of agriculture. The conditions under which dual employment is associated with job mobility and the conditions under which it occurs as a stable situation are not yet well established.

The relationships between job mobility and migration were not adequately investigated in this study. Which move was primary and which incidental in dual mobility cases was not sufficiently clear. If the conceptual framework is correct, when economic betterment is the primary motive, the job change is primary, and migration incidental. When social betterment is the primary motive, migration is primary and job mobility is incidental.

Perhaps the most difficult problem that remains to be worked out is an adequate definition of job mobility. A major shortcoming in this study is the occupational classification used to differentiate the job-mobile and non-job-mobile populations. Whereas only a very rough definition of job mobility was used to differentiate the population in this study, some of the difficulties encountered in conceptualization and analysis of data stem directly from incompleteness and imprecision in the job mobility concept and its relationship to occupation type.

There is some question whether job mobility was the best concept to use in studying labor mobility. Occupational mobility, employer mobility, or industry mobility represent alternative definitions. The intrafirm mobility which takes place when a person moves from operating a machine to supervising a section of a factory, represents a change in the type of work performed and may represent an increase not only in salary but also in prestige. Such individuals were not considered job mobile in this study, but they do represent a form of mobility, involving both economic and social improvement.

One way of conceptualizing job mobility is to examine the components of jobs, the tasks performed and responsibilities involved and to measure job mobility in terms of changes which occur in these job components. Fine (1957) suggests a somewhat similar method of analyzing job components. His objective, however, was to set up a method of transferring job skills for use in job placement by employment agencies. This method might also prove useful in a more detailed examination of the impediments to job mobility.

Conceptualization and hypothesis development relating to mobility are in their infancy. This study suggests a need for a more detailed examination of the motives-impediment scheme, sharper definitions, an examination of relationships between environmental factors and selectivity of mobility, explanations of that mobility which does not fit the conceptual framework, detailed analysis of the decision-making process which accompanies mobility, and the construction and testing of models which would be able to predict mobility rates when certain factors about the population are known.

For Action

Insofar as the conceptual framework represents a fairly accurate description of the mobility process and the major variables which both prompt and restrict mobility, policy proposals aimed at affecting the mobility rate may be more successful if they take account of motives which lie behind mobility and impediments which limit mobility. Empirical results obtained in the Brookston study can be helpful in attempting to deal with policy programs in similar areas. Data from the Brookston area can indicate particular variables which may be manipulated under given environmental circumstances.

The conceptual framework suggests two ways to manipulate the rate of mobility: motives which prompt mobility may be strengthened, and impediments to mobility may be reduced. If policy is concerned with encouraging the rate of job mobility and migration out of an area, then motivating the population to achieve certain goals and presenting mobility as a means of achieving them, may produce the desired rate of mobility. Along with these motivations there must also be a reduction in the impediments to mobility although the knowledge that economic and social betterment may be achieved through mobility, may act to reduce impediments to mobility.

More specifically, if the objective is to encourage a shift from low income farm employment to non-farm employment, publicity regarding job opportunities and the economic benefits of higher

incomes could be used to arouse motives of economic betterment. Training programs could be used to reduce job impediments based on the lack of job skills. Migration, which in this case would be incidental to job mobility, might be facilitated by imparting desires for better community facilities and thus creating dissatisfaction with the community from which migration is being encouraged.

Mobility from one occupation to another, such as mobility out of agriculture, may be encouraged in a similar manner. Instilling motives of betterment in voluntarily mobile persons is unnecessary; the major problem is to increase the proportion of voluntarily mobile individuals. This is possible by: (a) instilling motivation for betterment in a portion of the non-mobile farm population and reducing the impediments to job mobility, or (b) resolving the conflicting alternatives perceived by the involuntarily mobile individual as way of fufilling motives, and reducing impediments to job mobility.

The large proportion of job mobility which did not result in economic betterment may help to explain the slow rate of movement out of agriculture in some areas. Individuals observing this may hesitate to change jobs, expressing the belief that "he wasn't any better off after making the change, so why should I try it?" Policies aimed at helping job-mobile persons make a satisfactory adjustment, including the achievement of economic improvement might include in their programs steps to insure success in achieving economic betterment. If this is accomplished, one impediment to mobility may be removed.

For the involuntarily job-mobile population, either removing the conflicting motives or rewarding one more than the other may be a means of turning involuntary mobility into voluntary mobility. In the case of mobility from agriculture, the conflicting motives of status maintenance and economic betterment need resolving. Means of removing the image of low non-farm prestige could be effective in eliminating the conflict. Increasing economic rewards to the job-mobile person might serve to offset the conflicting motives and thus result in voluntary job mobility.

Another means of dealing with mobility out of agriculture might consist of aiding transference of job skills (reducing impediments). If means were developed to help mobile farm operators obtain jobs which utilized their existing skills and interests, the adjustment might be easier, involuntary job mobility might be reduced, and the job-mobile person might be better off economically.

A frequent method of adjustment among a large proportion of former farm operators was dual employment. This transitory process may serve several functions in the mobility process. It may serve as an adjustment period for the individual by providing increased income and time to become familiar with another type of work. It may help bridge a period of skill training for a particular job the individual plans to enter. Many of these changes are costly in terms of lost income during the training period. Dual employment may also allow the mover a chance to explore whether a job change is the "right" thing to do, and provide an opportunity for him to determine the "right" kind of job.

Knowing the personal characteristics of the mobile and non-mobile groups is also useful in formulating policies. Knowledge of the kinds of persons most likely to be motivated toward betterment or stability and of the kinds of people and occupations which have the strongest impediments, may provide the basis for implementing mobility policy among a given population. These data indicate the kinds of people who may be most easily motivated and those for whom impediments are strongest. Such refinements could help direct policy proposals by identifying specific segments of the population which can be most readily influenced by policies designed to increase economic and social mobility.

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